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Results of surveys of social studies textbooks used in public elementary and secondary schools and parochial schools are presented. In secondary textbooks, focus was on the attention given to the treatment of jobs, of American Negroes, of immigrants, and of minorities under Nazism. It was found that ancient Hebrew history, to the exclusion of later Jewish history, is emphasized; that Negro positions in contemporary society are largely ignored; that immigrant groups receive considerable attention; and that the treatment of minority groups by the Nazis is inadequately covered.

Elementary textbooks discuss in detail civilizations and religions now extinct. In the relation of Protestantism to Catholicism, and Christianity to Judaism, preference is given to Protestantism and Christianity. The history of religious conflicts and persecutions is ignored altogether in many books. The contributions of present-day religions to European civilizations is given much attention, as are contributions of religious groups and missionaries to settlement, exploration, and education in early America. It is concluded that elementary school textbooks leave the impression that present-day religion is not a significant force in our society.

It is concluded that, in social studies curriculum materials used in Catholic schools, the content treating other religious and ethnic groups is inadequate. Some emphasis is placed on the equality of Judeo-Christian traditions, but more factual data should be included. Generally, the content is sensitive to group feelings.

Recommendations include that school officials who select textbooks should be alert to the prejudicial aspects of text content.

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INTERGROUP RELATIONS IN SOCIAL-STUDIES TEXTBOOKS

JUDAH HARRIS

This paper summarizes the results of three surveys of social-studies textbooks used in public elementary schools, public secondary schools, and Catholic schools. Mr. Harris is a former research associate with the Anti-Defamation League.

THE TEXTBOOKS that are chosen for classroom use give some indication of what is being taught in the schools. Several studies have attempted to determine the way in which popularly used textbooks approach various facets of intergroup relations. This article will summarize the results of three comprehensive surveys of certain areas of intergroup education as represented in elementary and secondary public-school social-studies textbooks and in Catholic school textbooks and curriculum materials.

Secondary Public-School Textbooks

In 1960, Lloyd Marcus, former director of the department of research and program development of the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, conducted a study entitled *The Treatment of Minorities in Secondary School Textbooks*.[1] The executive secretary of the National Council for the Social Studies and administrators in the public-school systems of six major cities in every major region of the United States selected the 48 social-studies textbooks that

[1] New York: Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, 1961.

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ED002570

were most widely used in secondary schools. The study dealt with four specific areas of intergroup relations as revealed in these books: treatment of the Jews, treatment of minorities under Nazism, treatment of American Negroes, and treatment of immigrants. It should be noted that the treatment of Catholics was not a specific concern of this study. For each area covered, the following conclusions were reported.

Treatment of the Jews. World-history textbooks give considerably more attention to the ancient Hebrews than to later Jewish history. However, many link that early tradition to modern times by reminding the student of democracy's legacy from Judaism. The scattered references to Jews in post-Biblical world history deal largely with persecution and exile; few mention the later positive contributions of Jews.

Although textbook accounts of the Crucifixion are still too superficial to be useful in dispelling misconceptions about the role that Jews played in the death of Jesus, very few books explicitly link the Jews to this event in a manner likely to increase anti-Semitism.

Most textbooks dealing with American history mention Jews only incidentally. A few portray American Jews as a uniform group, set apart from other Americans. However, several accounts of Jews in the United States convey a realistic sense of their diverse nature and, thus, of their similarity to other peoples in this nation.

Treatment of Nazi persecutions of minority groups. Generally this topic is inadequately treated. Approximately one-third of the 48 textbooks omit it entirely. More than three-quarters of them slight or minimize what the Nazis did to their victims. Several textbooks on world history have excellent material on some aspects of the problem: Hitler's racist theories, the identity—both Jewish and non-Jewish—of his victims, the successive stages of brutality that culminated in mass murder. However, the number of victims or the international reaction and consequences of the Nazi assault on innocent people seldom get adequate attention.

Treatment of American Negroes. The Negroes' position in contemporary American society is very largely ignored. With extremely few exceptions, illustrations and photographs continue to show an all-white America, not an interracial and increasingly integrated nation.

The scientific knowledge underlying sound understanding of the basic similarity and equality of the races of mankind and historical data about the achievements of American Negroes are absent from the great majority of secondary-school textbooks. American Negroes are, for the most part, portrayed in the eras of slavery and

Reconstruction. What comes through in most books is a stereotype of a simple, childlike, superstitious people.

There is a tendency to treat racial inequality and attempts at its eradication with complacent generalizations rather than hard facts. Generally when the 1954 Supreme Court decision on public-school desegregation is presented, discussion of its underlying principles and the subsequent ongoing attempts at both compliance and evasion are bypassed. Residential segregation by race is seldom discussed. Very few books mention the achievements of living Negro Americans.

Treatment of immigrant groups. Immigrants who have come to the United States receive considerable attention in American-history and social-problems textbooks. Post-1880 immigrants from Southern and Eastern Europe receive sympathetic treatment. Both their early difficulties and their contributions to an emerging American culture are presented. The history of restrictive legislation is seldom couched in terms that place an onus on the immigrant.

Other immigrant groups, however, receive less sympathetic treatment. In most cases, the Asiatic immigrant is shown as a strange, unassimilable outsider who offers a threat to the living standard of native Americans. America's increasingly significant Spanish immigrant and migrant groups still receive little attention. Virtually nothing is said in favor of these peoples; in several cases, negative stereotypes of them are presented.

Although a few textbooks continue to refer to immigrants as outsiders, more accounts now reflect the realization that the United States has been enriched by the diversified heritage of its pluralistic citizenry.

In appraising this study, Austin McCaffrey, director of the American Textbook Publishers Institute, stated that it "gives all the appearances of being very objective, very searching," and it should command "a great deal of attention" throughout the textbook-publishing industry. He concluded that most textbooks present a misleading and one-sided picture of minority groups and promised swift reform. In giving reasons for inadequate treatment of minorities, Mr. McCaffrey said, "Some of these books were written years ago. Times have changed; views and orientations have changed. No one will say that texts developed thus far are as good as they ought to be."[2] Whether the contemplated changes are actually being made can be determined only through another survey of secondary-school textbooks.

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[2] *New York Post,* January 11, 1961, p. 20.

Elementary Public-School Textbooks

In 1962 the writer concluded a study for the Anti-Defamation League, entitled *The Treatment of Religion in Elementary Social Studies Textbooks*.[3] Based on a doctoral dissertation at the Yeshiva University Graduate School of Education, this study analyzed religious references in 120 elementary public-school social-studies textbooks that were shelved in Teacher's Central Laboratory of Hunter College, New York City. One of the largest textbook collections in the United States, it contains an extensive sampling of current books selected in accordance with the recommendations of publishers, educators, and textbook writers. The study was concerned only with the treatment of religion and, therefore, did not consider the image presented of racial and national minorities, such as Negroes, Chinese, and Latin Americans. The major conclusions of this study follow.

Extinct religions. The characteristics of early extinct religions, such as the ancient faiths of the Babylonians, Egyptians, and Greeks, are described in detail. Their role in art, architecture, mathematics, sculpture, business, and literature is clearly depicted.

Relationship of Protestantism to Catholicism, Christianity to Judaism. The widely held belief that there is nothing that does violence to the religious feelings of public-school students in the textbooks that they study is a myth;[4] many textbooks tend to favor Protestantism over Catholicism and Christianity over Judaism.

The most flagrant examples of anti-Catholic bias appear in the accounts of the Reformation. In describing the Reformation, one cannot avoid a confrontation between sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Roman Catholicism and the emerging Protestant movements. Many anti-Protestant acts of persecution are detailed, but no specific acts of anti-Catholic oppression by Protestants are discussed. Little space is given to such movements as the Counter-Reformation or to the fact that the religious intolerance of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries was by no means a Catholic monopoly.

Certain passages in elementary-school social-studies textbooks may tend to disturb non-Christian students. Many books treat Jesus as divine or as the Messiah. The relationship between Jesus and the Jews of his time is often depicted in a manner that makes

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[3] New York: Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, 1963.

[4] *See*, for example, Robert Coughlan, "Religion and the Schools," *Life*, June 16, 1961, *50*, 121: "Textbooks today . . . are not merely free of anti-Catholic bias: they are written with such anxiety to avoid hurting the feelings of anybody at all that quite a few of the history books are no longer intelligible as history."

the Jewish leaders seem selfish, cruel, and arbitrary. Some textbooks put the primary blame for the Crucifixion on the Jews.

History of religious conflicts and persecutions. Almost all references to Jews after the Biblical period concern their sufferings as a result of exile and religious intolerance. The books leave the impression that the Jews are a group of wanderers inevitably encountering persecution. As a people, they seem to lack positive attributes and to offer no cultural accomplishments since Biblical times.

The Nazi period is also treated inadequately. Eleven books mention Hitler and Nazism; only five refer to the persecution of Jews under Hitlerism. Of these five, one takes an apparently neutral attitude by failing to indicate whether the Nazi persecution was justified.

Other instances of incomplete treatment appear in the descriptions of Protestant-Catholic and Christian-Moslem conflicts. When Protestant-Catholic conflict is described, the reader is left with the impression that the Protestants were almost entirely without fault. Descriptions of Christian-Moslem friction, notably in connection with the Crusades, leave the impression that the Christians were practically blameless.

Past contributions of present-day religions to European and American civilizations. The contributions of present-day religions to European civilization are treated prominently. Moslems are usually credited with preserving and developing Greek contributions to science, mathematics, medicine, geography, and philosophy. The ancient Jewish people are described as the founders of ethical monotheism and the creators of Biblical literature. The cultural role of Christianity in the past is stressed—the work of the monks in reviving learning; the role played by the Church in establishing schools and universities; Christianity's contributions to art and architecture (though not to music); the Crusaders' role in trade, travel, and exploration (some textbooks also criticize their excesses); and the growth of religious tolerance after the realization of the futility of the religious conflicts engendered by the Reformation.

The contributions of religious groups and missionaries to settlement, exploration, and education in early America are also fully treated in the textbooks. Religious influences are depicted favorably in the social, cultural, and political development of the United States.

Religion on the contemporary scene. The elementary-school textbooks leave the impression that present-day religion is not a significant force in our society. Present-day Christianity is depicted as being limited in its influence on moral and spiritual matters through church attendance, worship, and welfare work. Generally the books

omit mention of the fact that marriage, birth, and burial are religious occasions in a large proportion of American families or that millions of American children attend parochial and religious schools.

Virtually nothing is said about Jewish life in America today; mention of Jewish holidays, institutions, and customs is almost nonexistent. Practically all of the information conveyed (other than persecution) relates to events occurring over 2,000 years ago.

On the basis of this study, it seems that a more balanced and objective approach is needed in the treatment of religion in elementary-school social-studies textbooks. This approach should reflect our increasing awareness of the importance of interreligious understanding in developing effective intergroup relations.

Catholic-School Curriculum Materials

In 1961, Sister Rita of the Sacred Heart Mudd, F.C.S.P., completed a dissertation, entitled "A Content Analysis: The Treatment of Intergroup Relations in Social Studies Curriculum Materials Used in Catholic Schools."[5] This study dealt with the manner in which the examined materials treated the following nine group classifications: Protestant, Jewish, Non-Christian (non-Judeo-Christian religious groups), Negro, American Indian, Oriental, Latin-American, General (the human race), and International (the United Nations. other nations, etc.). A sampling of textbooks was carefully selected on the basis of questionnaires returned by the superintendents of the Archdiocesan school boards of the twenty-six Archdioceses in the United States. A total of 107—the majority of the adopted textbooks and related curriculum materials (workbooks, manuals, and courses of study)—were included in the analysis. The major conclusions of this study are summarized in the following sections.

Relevant intergroup content. Of the total content of the publications examined, only 5.7 per cent was found to be intergroup content relevant to the nine groups selected for the study. This intergroup content is distributed as follows: Protestant—15 per cent, Oriental—14 per cent, International and Indian—13 per cent each, Negro—12 per cent, Latin-American—11 per cent, Non-Christian—8 per cent, and Jewish and General—7 per cent each.

Sister Rita felt that the percentage distribution of intergroup content found in the curriculum materials is inadequate in the light of intergroup-education objectives; the importance of selected religious and ethnic groups in our American pluralistic society warrants a more thorough presentation of material relevant to these groups if

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[5] Doctoral dissertation, St. Louis University, 1961.

Catholic-school materials are to be positive aids for intercultural and intergroup education.

The emphasis on equality. The doctrinal sources of the Judeo-Christian tradition and the American philosophical heritage, as well as the factual sources of scientific study and research, are stressed as means of improving human relationships. In many of the publications, references are made to the Old and New Testaments, to the teachings of Christ and the Church, to natural and moral law, and to the two great documents of American democracy—the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution. These references stress the teachings of social and political equality that will lead to just, peaceful, co-operative, and enriching human relationships.

Some of the more recent publications stress the surveys, studies, and statistical data made available through scholarly research in the fields of biology, sociology, and psychology which offer scientific proof for the equality of all men. However, it was felt that the inclusion of more factual data of this kind would be helpful in establishing and developing better relationships among men of all races, creeds, and ethnic groups.

Directional content. Generally the content is favorable, accurate, and sensitive to group feelings. The materials analyzed give no evidence of conscious antagonisms toward any of the groups. Errors, inadequacies, biased and prejudicial references seem to be unintentional, the result of careless editing and thoughtlessness rather than malicious intent.

The majority of the negative references apply to the three religious groups, the highest proportion being in the Protestant category. Some authors tend to be emotional and prejudiced in the preparation of material concerning the Protestant Revolution, Protestant religious leaders, and particular Protestant groups.

Fewer negative references were found for the Jewish group, but a few authors refer to the Jews as "moneylenders," "the isolationist group who hated all non-Jews," or "the world's saddest people." Negative references to the non-Christian group present them as "earthy, fanatical and perverted."

The most frequent negative references in the ethnic categories apply to the Indians, who are sometimes portrayed as "cruel, bloodthirsty, fickle, and backward." Other negative ethnic references are to the stereotypic inferior Negro, the cruel Oriental leaders, and the unstable Mexican wetbacks.

The amount of content about the history, contributions, and present status of these groups seems "pitifully small." Most of the references are to the Jewish people of ancient times, the Protestants

of the sixteenth century, the Negroes of the Civil War era, the Latin Americans of exploration times, and the Orientals of centuries ago.

The investigator believes that the policies and acts of Catholic groups should also be treated more realistically. For example, Catholic abuses and mistakes at the time of the Protestant Revolution and in American history could be described more objectively.

The greatest number of negative references was found in the area of history. This is followed by geography, sociology and social problems, and history and government. A greater percentage of negative references was found in publications for high school than in those designed for Grades 3 to 8. Students' textbooks and workbooks contained a larger proportion of unfavorable references than teachers' manuals and courses of study.

The investigator concluded that writers should be more intergroup conscious and also more aware of the individual groups—their temperament, psychology, religion, mores, and culture. Such awareness would help writers to achieve a sensitive, objective, and critical attitude toward the various groups.

Conclusion

Investigation into the manner in which social-studies textbooks at all levels treat intergroup relations is still in its infancy stage. As the studies described here indicate, much remains to be done in order to achieve careful, objective treatment in this sensitive area.

School officials who are responsible for selecting textbooks should be alert to the prejudicial aspects of their content. They could refuse to use certain books and at the same time urge publishers to include more material that would help to break down stereotypes. Textbook writers themselves must recognize the need for more adequate treatment of intergroup relations. Through awareness and effective implementation, significant changes in treatment can be brought about.